2: Steinen--339 E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

I. Masks.

* 171 532 535 On the second journey our yield of dance ornaments and, above all, of face-masks was considerably larger than on the first. This is all the more important since the masks, which are, after all, distributed throughout the world in the most diverse forms and for the most diverse purposes, and which play such an important part among the Indians of northern America, have so far been observed only to a relatively slight extent in South America. It seems that they occur in particular in the Amazonas region, but it may only seem so. All the tribes have their dance festivals, all have pantomimes in which animals are portrayed, people adorn themselves with natural ornaments of skins or feathers, imitate the voices and movements, and spontaneously arrive at the characterizing mummery which makes the spectacle more effective. The technical skill of the mummery and its characterization certainly differs, but probably all hunting peoples reached the level which we come across among the Schingú tribes, again with an entirely different development of mimic devices. We are so poorly informed about this only because the opportunities to investigate living tribes in an undisturbed state are rare and can be only superficially exploited during a fleeting visit. Our own journey is the best example. In one region where [126] in 1884 we came across strange headgear with animal imitations of straw, etc., but only two wooden dove-masks, in 1887 we brought back a handsome collection of face masks which, now in the Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde, permit an interesting comparison with the grotesque animal masks of the Tekuna /Tucuna/ from the upper Amazon River that are present there. Ehrenreich, too, brought back from the Karayá /Caraja/ on the Araguay /Araguaia/ a number of huge dance masks adorned in the most colorful manner with feathers, which in their construction remind one most strikingly of the Duk-duk of the South Sea.

• [184] [345] Not only each tribe, but each village has its own masked dances. The center is always the "flute house." In their character the dances are extraordinarily alike throughout Brazil. Always the running around in a circle and the jerky singing corresponding

173 /16 cont./undoubtedly the Bakairí had /16/ lived closer To
648 the Kayabí than in later times, because they had moved their
726 aldea successively farther upriver. But hostilities with their
727 enemies then had still lasted. One night in a raid the Kayabí
361 had killed Felipe's father and carried away a child. On this account some 20 Bakairí men had undertaken an expedition for revenge and had killed two Kayabí men and carried away two girls, who were living at the time of Karl von den Steinen's expeditions in the aldea situated on the Paranatinga River, where they were married to two Bakairí men and were called Luiza and Maria. When I met Luiza, in the year 1927, among the Bakairí of Simões Lopes, she was an old woman. Given the fact that the population of the Bakairí of the Paranatinga River had dwindled to so few individuals, even at their later location, the Kayabí remained a danger for them.

648 The Bakairí were known by the Paressí as old neighbors,
727 and the Paressí, Charlotta, who was the wife of Cacique Felipe, had been carried away from Diamantino by the Bakairí. (15)

15. Karl v. d. Steinen, Durch Central-Brasilien, loc. cit., p. 122. Idem., Unter den Naturvölkern, loc. cit., p. 3 4.

174 From the extraordinary concordance of the legends of the Paressí
648 with those of the Bakairí of the Paranatinga River, noted by
177 Karl von den Steinen, it follows that in earlier times, there was extensive contact between the western Bakairí and the
174 Paressí. (16) Unfortunately we do not know the legends of the
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16. Karl v. d. Steinen, Unter den Naturvölkern, loc. cit., pp. 364 and 365.

eastern Bakairí, who live in the region of the tributaries of the Xingu River, so that we do not know to what extent their legends

/16 cont./

correspond to those of their western fellow countrymen. From the fact that the names of the two legendary heroes, Keri and Kame, who represent in Bakairí legends the sun and the moon, are not words of the Bakairí language (which belongs to the Karaíb /Carib/ group) but words of the Aruak /Arawak/ linguistic group, it follows that the Paressí, who belong to this linguistic group, were, in this case, the authors of these legends rather than the Bakairí, and thus that the legends of the Paranatinga Bakairí were influenced by the Paressí; just as the Bakairí are mentioned in the legends of the Paressí, the latter are also mentioned in the legends of the Bakairí. According to Paressí legends, the Bakairí, or Matokoso as they are called by them, belong with other enemy tribes to the kin group of Chinikálore (Tchenikauré according to Karl v. d. Steinen), the big jaguar, who killed his brother Kamázo and the latter's wife, but then became the victim of Uakomo, the son of Kamázo, who avenged his father when he grew up. (17) We also find

17. Ibid., p. 431.

this tale of Chinikálore in the texts of Paressí legends. In these legends Chinikálore, from whose six arrows the Bakairí were born, appears as a distinctly hostile hero. Thus it may be assumed that the Bakairí, who belonged to his kin group, were also enemies of the Paressí. On this basis, relations between the Bakairí and the Paressí were already hostile in former times, and this hostility still persisted at the time of /17/ Karl von den Steinen's expeditions. Some years earlier, the Bakairí had attacked the Paressí on the road that leads to Diamantino, to capture their women, and had killed many of them /i.e., Paressí men/. (18) As already mentioned above, besides the

18. Ibid., p. 438.

two Kayabí women, two Paressí women were also living among

174 184 648 703 177 175 726 729 [563]

/20 cont./

look at this settlement situated on the left side of the Rio Novo. The main aldea of these Indians, which consisted of five ranchos, was at a distance of three turns of the river from the small Brazilian pueblo of Rio Novo situated on the right side of the river. At this place I met Mr. Eliseu, who then held the title of subdirector over the Bakairí.

Conditions among the Rio Novo Bakairí had hardly changed since the time when Karl von den Steinen described them. Also, the population, which I estimated at 60 individuals, was more or less the same. Reginaldo, who had meanwhile become an old man, was still cacique of the two communities of Rio Novo Bakairí. Plate V of my book Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien presents a photograph taken in the aldea of these Indians showing Cacique Reginaldo with his wife in the midst of several other Bakairí, standing in front of the door of his house. The book which he holds in his hand is the work Durch Centralbrasilien, published by Karl von den Steinen, in which he is also represented in a drawing and at which he is looking with great interest. In the aldea there were still various objects which were products of typical Bakairí work, such as for example the large baskets of twigs /banastas/ woven in the ancestral way, and other kinds of baskets which matched exactly in terms of technique and decoration those made by the Bakairí of the tributaries of the Xingu River. (27) The Rio Novo Bakairí

27. Cf. Max Schmidt, Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien, loc. cit., Fig. 174, p. 347.

also still used, besides firearms, bows and arrows for hunting, and these corresponded exactly to those of their fellow countrymen of the Xingu River region. But outside of these objects, made in native fashion, these Bakairí had been changed completely into Brazilian campesinos as a result of the fact that

/27 cont./
162 the year 1915, no more than nine men with some women and
36 children lived with their cacique in the new aldea. The rest
166 had died or had moved to the other Bakairí aldeas situated on
the Rio Paranatinga.

178 According to Antonio Pyrineus de Sousa's description, the
433 Bakairí of the Rio Novo and Rio Paranatinga still had in the
622 year 1915 a life with sufficient means of subsistence. Cacique
[361] Antonio, whose authority of former times had undoubtedly de-
[241] creased through José Coroado's defection with his people and
[231] through the independent stand of Cacique Kurutú, was still
chief of the old aldea on the Rio Paranatinga, which still consisted of seven houses and whose inhabitants planted manioc, maize, sugar cane, bananas, and aboborra /gourds/, and raised
[231] many pigs and chickens. In former times they had also devoted
[648] themselves to the raising of cattle and horses, but the rancher Ilange Soares had made them give this up. Already at this time, Antonio was urgently pressing his rights in the region bound by the Serra Azul, the Ribeirão Bananal, and the Rio Paranatinga (Rio Telles Pires) and occupied for many years by the Bakairí. (34)

34. A. Pyrineus de Sousa, loc. cit., p. 64.

• 184 José Coroado's aldea consisted of three well-built houses.
361 He had large plantations of manioc and maize and raised some
241 pigs and chickens. (35) The inhabitants of Cacique Kurutú's
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35. Ibid., p. 65.

aldea, which consisted of three large houses, also had good plantations and lived comfortably.

178 /28/ At that time, also, the customs and ideas of the
[535] Rio Paranatinga Bakairí were largely Indian. When dancing,
[291] the men were nude except for a small coarse apron, rectangular

/34 cont./

tributaries of the upper Xingu River never had this custom, but that I had the opportunity to observe it among several of my Mato Grosso attendants, who had presumably adopted it through African influences. If the present-day Bakairí of the Simões Lopes Post file their teeth, this is no doubt an innovation brought about by foreign influences.

We know through Petrullo that the high mortality of the Paranatinga Bakairí unfortunately has continued in spite of the care of the Inspectoria da Protecção aos Indios /Indian Protection Service/. (41) It seems that fevers are rapidly diminishing the

41. Vincent M. Petrullo, loc. cit., pp. 128 and 129.

Bakairí population. According to Petrullo, syphilis, caught through contact with the whites, probably has also caused high mortality among these Indians.

Finally, I must still mention the last news I received when I had already left Mato Grosso. It was the news of the death of the man who had withdrawn from all innovations at the close of his life because he wished to retain his independence but who nevertheless will remain the best-known Bakairí in Bakairí history: the death of Cacique Antonio.

II. Change and Continuity in the Cultural Goods of the Bakairí of the Simões Lopes Post

In discussing in the preceding section the history of the Bakairí, I mention that the sedentary Bakairí on the Rio Paranatinga and the Rio Novo, before they entered into relations with their fellow countrymen of the tributaries of the upper Xingu River, had still retained some of the articles of their /35/ ancestral culture although they had almost completely become Brazilian campesinos. Through contact with the Xinguanos and as a

4:Schmidt--42 E-S (1901, 1927-1931) 1947 SP7 Bacairi SP7

/35 cont./

result of the latter's continuous movement to the Rio Paranatinga. Indian influence on the eastern Bakairí had increased once more, and when in the year 1927 I visited the Simões Lopes Post, where in the interval all the Bakairí had settled either at the post itself or in its vicinity, it was still possible to find there many ancestral implements and customs. In the Bakairí houses there were many objects made in the native manner, so that I was able to acquire a relatively large collection for the Berlin Ethnographic Museum. Among the objects in this collection were, as already mentioned above, several that came from the region of the tributaries of the upper Xingu River itself, which the Xinguanos had brought with them when they had moved to the Rio Paranatinga or which these Indians had received later from Indians of other tribes as the latter visited Simões Lopes. Among the objects from the region of the upper Xingu River tributaries we may note especially the fired clay vessels which were imported in large quantities, because, according to the Bakairí, there was no clay suitable for making them at Simões Lopes. The large fired clay ollas found in large numbers in Bakairí houses and used to boil the *pyzerego* drink were obtained from the Mehinakú. A good example of the small vessels that came from the region of the upper Xingu River tributaries is shown in Figure 25. This vessel (V.B. 9870), (42) one of the appendages of which is characterized

42. This is the catalog number of the Berlin Ethnographic Museum.

by the formation of a mouth, by an animal head, corresponds in shape to a specimen of such a vessel which I brought in the year 1901 from the Rio Kuluehe Bakairí (43) and to other similar

43. Max Schmidt, Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien, loc. cit., p. 401, Fig. 275 /257/.

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/35 cont./
specimens collected by Karl von den Steinen which were said to represent bats. To the basic, dark color of the outer surface of the vessel, brown paint is applied on the walls in parallel vertical strips and on the bottom of the vessel in curved lines emerging from the circumference of a circle whose center is the center of the pot bottom. The height of this pot reaches 10.5 cm. and the diameter of its upper rim, 26.5 cm. Two other fired clay vessels, both smaller, are represented in Figures 26 and 27, one of which (V.B. 9877) has a height of 11.5 cm. and an upper rim diameter of 26 cm., and the other (V.B. 9874) a height of 12.5 cm. and an upper rim diameter of 20 cm. Of the other objects from the region of the upper Xingu River

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most were ornaments. The necklace shown in Figure 24 (V.B. 9937) and made of small shell disks (diameter: 0.8 cm.) and a large stone bead was given to me in Simões Lopes by my old friend, the Bakairí, Karíb, as a particularly precious object from former times. Other ornamental objects in my collection are shown in the following photographs:

Figure 24, a. A necklace of small shell plates /Achatina/ (V.B. 9916. Length of the plates, 2.5 cm.).

/36/ Figure 23, c. A necklace of shell disks with a zoomorphic (bird) pendant of fruit rind (V.B. 9954).

Figure 23, b. Zoomorphic stone pendant for a necklace.

Figure 23, a. Feather diadem. (V.B. 9968.) Length 36 cm. Width 8 cm.

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Among the cultural goods of the Bakairí which we must also regard as products of the native industry, but which, in contrast with those just described, were apparently made by the Bakairí of the Simões Lopes Post themselves, we may point out first of all the various kinds of plaited objects, because they will serve to complement on various points my previous publications on Bakairí plaited objects. (44) For this reason I shall

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44. Max Schmidt, Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien, loc. cit., pp. 330-371.

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Cf. Idem., "Ableitung südamerikanischer Geflechtsmuster aus der Technik des Flechtens /Derivation of South American Plaiting Pattern from the Technique of Plaiting/." Zeitsch. f. Ethn., 1904, Heft 3 and 4, pp. 490-512. Idem., "Die technischen Voraussetzungen in der Ornamentik der Eingeborenen Südamerikas /The Technical Bases in the Ornamentation of the South American Natives/." Ipek. Jahrbuch für Prähistorische und Ethnographische Kunst, 1926, pp. 142-174.

discuss the plaited objects that I collected from the Simões Lopes Bakairí in a special section that follows. In addition to plaited objects I was primarily concerned with the acquisition of a mortar and its corresponding pestle and a triangular barbecue, because the relevant collections of the Berlin Ethnographic Museum did not include any specimen of these Bakairí objects which are to be found in almost every settlement of these Indians. The wooden mortar which I brought from Simões Lopes (V.B. 9883, called óro by the Kulisehu Bakairí) is shown in Figure 29. Its height reaches 38 cm. and the rim diameter 25 cm. From the irregular shape of the bottom it may be assumed that the lower part of the mortar was implanted in the ground. The corresponding pestle (V.B. 9884) has a length of 95 cm. and is shown in Figure 28. The barbecue shown in Figure 30 and called by the Kulisehu Bakairí si(r)ka has the usual triangular shape of Bakairí barbecues. The sticks of which this barbecue consists are bound together with tree bark. Its height reaches 105 cm.

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I found the dancing sticks shown in Figures 33 a-d and 34 a-d (V.B. 9942, 9943, 9945-9948, 9951, and ~~10071~~) in

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285 372 531 As shown by the fan represented in the photograph in Figure 19[illegible] of the above-mentioned book, there are cases where this middle part is striped horizontally without this leading to /38/ technical complications, and as in these cases also the two triangular units of the object, which begin with their bases on the two sides of the lower edge of the fan, are for technical reasons striped horizontally, all of these plaited units in this fan have the same ornamental striping. But the vertical striping that runs throughout the fan represented in Figure 154, a /35 top?/ and coming from Simões Lopes is incompatible with the technical conditions of the ancestral forms of these plaited objects. The structure of the plaiting of this fan shows that it, too, was plaited so that the work began in the middle part of the fan in the shape of a square resting on one corner, and then the two lower triangles were made by folding and plaiting the free ends of the fibers used to make the middle part. Among the numerous specimens of such fans at the Berlin Ethnographic Museum, there are none whose triangular parts at the lower base of the fan show striping going in a vertical direction, and the imperfection of the lower edge of the fan from Simões Lopes, in comparison with the firm, smooth edges of the fans from the Kulisehu Bakairí, clearly shows that in the case of the fan from Simões Lopes we are dealing with a degeneration of the Bakairí plaiting technique, which in times past was more skillful and more dependent on certain principles. The fine fan shown in Figure 154, b /35 bottom?/ also contains, in spite of its superficial good looks, so many imperfections in the ornamentation and so many irregularities in the structure of the plaiting that its later origin is at once evident.

285 184 171 531 There is a great similarity, we might even say identity, between the flat baskets acquired in Simões Lopes and those which the Bakairi of the upper Xingu tributaries made in former times. The flat basket shown in Figure 36 (V.B. 9909. Diameter 51 cm.) is surprisingly similar to such a basket collected by Herrmann Meyer from the Nahukuá and described

4:Schmidt--48 E-5 (1901, 1927-1931) 1947 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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by me elsewhere. (45) Both baskets are woven of the fibers of

45. Max Schmidt, Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien, pp. 349-351 and Fig. 176.

aurití leaves, whose stalks protrude at one side of the basket, and the rim is emphasized by a wooden hoop. These two baskets differ only in their ornamentation: that of the basket from the Simões Lopes Bakairí consisting of a simple striping that runs through the entire basket in the same direction, whereas the plaiting of the specimen acquired by Herrmann Meyer from the Nahukuá consists of several units which contrast among themselves in the opposite orientation of their striping, so that on the surface of the basket appears the rhomboidal ornamentation common among those Indians. Although up to now a specimen of a basket similar to this one was unknown among the Bakairí, we should not regard the flat basket shown in Figure 36 as a product of the Nahukuá, because the cultural goods of these two tribes, which are also related with respect to language, show on the whole great similarities.

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/39/ The flat, round basket shown in Figure 37 and called by the Kuikuru Bakairí apa (V. B. 9906. Diameter 36 cm. Height 10 cm.) must be held in terms of technique and ornamentation as a faultless product of the ancestral Bakairí art of plaiting. The technique of this basket and its rhomboidal ornamentation running symmetrically over its entire surface and emphasized further by the different color of the respective fibers of the plaiting oriented vertically and horizontally, are similar to a specimen acquired by Herrmann Meyer from the Rio Kuikuru Bakairí shown in a photograph in my already-mentioned publication. (46) There are only unimportant

46. Ibid., p. 350, Fig. 177.

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differences in the ornamentation of these two flat baskets: the small rhombs of the flat basket from Simões Lopes are white with a black dot in the middle and are surrounded by two black squares and one white square, while the rhombs of the other basket are black with a white dot in the middle and are surrounded only by a white square and a black one. Technically, this difference is explained by the fact that each plaited unit of the basket from Simões Lopes, marked by the ornamental striping running in the same direction, consists of 12 fibers going vertically and 12 fibers going horizontally, whereas the number of each one of these two groups of fibers in the flat basket from the Rio Kuluehu is nine. Otherwise, the two baskets differ in the way in which one of the two groups of fibers (vertical or horizontal) of the plaiting has been colored black. Both baskets are plaited in such a way that the respective stem fibers in one of the two groups of these fibers are placed with their outer, smooth surface above and their inner, rough surface under, while the fibers of the other group, running vertically to the fibers of the first group, are placed with their rough surface above and their smooth surface under. But the way in which the black coloring of the rough surface of these fibers is done is different in the two baskets. In the flat basket from Simões Lopes the rough surface of the plaiting fibers is stained black before they are plaited, whereas the coloring of the flat basket from the Rio Kuluehu is done in such a way that the entire basket, plaited as described above but without prior dyeing of the rough surface of the respective fibers, is stained with soot and washed immediately. Through washing the soot disappeared from the parts of the surface of the basket formed by the smooth surface of the plaiting fibers, while the parts where the fibers appear with their rough surface at the surface of the basket remained black. The way of forming a pretty border with the free ends of the plaiting fibers emerging from its upper edge is the same in both baskets.

4:Schmidt--50 E-5 (1901, 1927-1931) 1947 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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The basket from the Simões Lopes Bakairí shown in Figure 38 (V.B. 9907. Diameter 26 cm. Height 6.5 cm.) must be held as a transitional product of a new age. In its /40/ external form and its rim, formed with the ends of the plaiting fibers, it is altogether similar to the basket just described. Its peculiarity consists in that, along with the rhomboidal ornamentation common among the Bakairí, it also presents a winding /given in Portuguese, meandro/ ornamentation. It was characteristic of the Bakairí of the upper Xingu tributaries that in the ornamentation of their plaited objects and in the ornamentation derived from the latter, the winding pattern was almost nonexistent, while this decoration is common, for example, in the ornamentation of the Kayabí, neighbors of the Bakairí, and also appears sporadically in the ornamentation of other tribes neighboring on the Bakairí, in the region of the tributaries of the upper Xingu River. Thus we must regard the winding pattern which appears on the surface of the flat basket from the Simões Lopes Bakairí as an element alien to typical Bakairí ornamentation and introduced to them through the influence of other tribes. Since there were Kayabí women among the Paranatinga Bakairí, it may be assumed that they introduced this new decoration to the Bakairí. The diagram in Figure 47 shows that in this basket, too, the winding lines of the ornamentation of the plaiting were formed in the usual way whereby in certain parts of the plaiting the individual square units are placed in such a way that four of them do not touch corners in the same spot, while in those areas of the work where this does occur, there appear the rhomboidal or cross-shaped decorations common among the Bakairí. The fact that in this case a foreign influence is involved is also derived from the various irregularities in the weaving structure, which contrast to the well formed plaited work of the Bakairí in former times. The workmanship in this basket conveys the impression that the Bakairí in this case accepted the new decoration without being sufficiently familiar with its technical conditions to produce a more accomplished

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184 285 179 531 171 work, as also occurs often among other tribes in the process of transition in their cultural goods. The diagram in Figure 47 shows that, in the middle of the basket, a secondary fiber was added arbitrarily to the other fibers that formed the plaited object, and that the triple mesh plaiting is changed several times into double mesh. Important irregularities occur, especially in the center of one of the rhomboidal figures.

285 531 The basket shown in Figure 39 and called by the Bakairí humureba (V.B. 9885. Height 14 cm. Width of the bottom 20 cm. Width of the upper rim 28 cm.) is a good example of those plaited objects from the Simões Lopes Bakairí which were made strictly in accordance with ancestral Bakairí technique. I have dealt at length elsewhere (47) with this type of basketry, which

47. Max Schmidt, "Die technischen Voraussetzungen in der Ornamentik der Eingeborenen Südamerikas," loc. cit., pp. 157-158. Idem., Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien, loc. cit., p. 355, Fig. 180.

is also common among other Indian tribes, and shown that in such cases the beginning of the plaiting consists of a square flat piece the middle part of which forms the bottom of the basket, while the four corners are folded upward to form the four walls of the basket. In order to obtain uniform striping of the four walls, the square piece which forms the beginning of the basket must consist of at least four square units marked /41/ by two changes of the direction of the striping and with their four inner corners meeting in the middle of the bottom of the basket so that, in accordance with the two combination possibilities, the common decorative elements of the rhomboidal form or the shape of a cross results. If the surface of the bottom of the basket shows the rhomboidal ornamentation, as does the basket from Simões Lopes (see diagram for Figure 39), the

/41 cont./

285 531 walls of the resulting basket will show uniform striping running horizontally, while a basket the walls of which show striping running vertically will result if the surface of the bottom has a cross-shaped decorative element. (Cf. the basket shown in a photograph in my above-mentioned book (48).)

48. Max Schmidt, Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien, loc. cit., p. 354, Fig. 180.

285 184 531 Already on my trip made in the year 1901, I found among the Kuisehu Bakairí a kind of basket which, in its external form, corresponds to the basket just described but which, in terms of the structure of the plaiting of its bottom suggests a completely different beginning of the plaiting. (49) A hoop

49. Ibid., pp. 360-362.

for adorning the head brought by me from the same Bakairí shows, instead of the usual decorative elements of these Indians, the special figure that appears in the middle of the bottom of these baskets.(50) See the diagram shown in Figure 50. On my

[114] [126]

50. Ibid., p. 414, Fig. 272.

last trip, made in the year 1927, I acquired from the Bakairí of Simões Lopes several specimens of such baskets. Of the three specimens of baskets of this kind shown in Figures 40 (V.B. 9890. Height 17 cm. Width of the bottom 30 cm. Width of the upper rim 32 cm.), 41 (V.B. 9889. Height 18 cm. Width of the bottom 21 cm. Width of the upper rim 29.5 cm.), and 42 (V.B. 9880. Height 25 cm. Width of the bottom 21 cm. Width of the upper rim 33 cm.), each shows a different structure of plaiting in the center of the bottom of the baskets: that of the basket shown in Figure 40 has four

4:Schmidt--S9 F S (1901, 1927-1931) 1947 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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three step figures (cf. diagram in Figure 51), that of the basket in Figure 41 four four-step figures (cf. diagram in Figure 52), and that of the basket in Figure 42 four five-step figures (cf. diagram in Figure 50).

With the whole leaf of the burity palm, the Simões Lopes Bakairí made, besides the flat baskets described above, ordinary basket-like, and this in two different forms depending on whether only one palm leaf or two palm leaves were used to make the plaited object.

[26] Of such baskets made from a single leaf no specimens are known from the Bakairí of the upper Xingu tributaries, but I acquired such a specimen in the year 1901 from the Rio Novo Bakairí, which I have described and shown in a photograph in the above-mentioned work (51). But it is likely that the Bakairí

51 Ibid., pp. 347-348
Fig. 174-175.

of the upper Xingu tributaries also had baskets of this type in former times and that they were not noted by the respective explorers. The /42/ Kuikuro Bakairí called this kind of basket very common among the Bakairí of Simões Lopes, kará. Of the specimens acquired in Simões Lopes, one is shown in Figure 43 (№ 9900. Height 24 cm. Width 25 cm.). The making of such baskets proceed as follows: the leaf strand are divided into two groups and the strands in the first group are plaited with those in the second group, in twill fashion and beginning with the middle strand. The plaiting of single and triple mesh, proven the characteristic striping of strip plaiting, is first going in a vertical direction but passing to the horizontal direction in the second unit of plaiting formed on the four ribs on the edge of the leaf by folding the free end of the strands and plaiting them in the opposite direction. Cf. the diagram shown in Figure 53.

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Of the baskets plaited of two buriti palm leaves, called by the Rio Kulisehu Bakairí bo'idéju, several specimens were already known from the Bakairí of the upper Xingu tributaries, which are similar with respect to their form and manner of plaiting, on the whole, to the baskets which I acquired from the Simões Lopes Bakairí. In these baskets, too, of which three specimens are shown in photographs in Figures 44-46 (V.B. 9899. Height 36 cm. Width 32 cm. V.B. 9904. Height 32 cm. Width 34 cm. V.B. 9901. Height 37 cm. Width 34 cm.), the plaiting consists of single mesh or triple mesh. I have described the plaiting technique used in these baskets at length in my above-mentioned book, (52) with the aid of a diagram.

52. Ibid., pp. 356-359.
Figs. 182-184.

and I have shown that the beginning of the plaiting is formed by two square plaited units, of which one situated at the front side of the basket (square ABCD in the diagram in Figure 48) is plaited from the strands of half of each of the two leaves, and the other unit, situated at the back side of the basket (square MEBG in the diagram), /is woven,/ from the other half of each of the two leaves. These two square units of plaiting, placed corner-to corner, and, in their original position, placed one before the other, are united by two other units of plaiting made from the free fibers of the first two units (squares ADHG and ABEF in the diagram), in such a way that these four square units together form one unit (square HEFC in the diagram) the size of which is twice that of the two original units. While the four corners of this unit of plaiting (square HEFC in the diagram) are bound upward in a vertical position (triangles DHC, BFE, EBG and GDH in the diagram) and serve as parts of the four walls of the basket, the bottom of the basket is formed by the middle part of this unit (square GEBD in the diagram) which

/42 cont./

285 remains in a horizontal position. The plaiting of the basket
184 acquired by me from the Rio Kulisehu Bakairí and that of the
53 Simões Lopes basket shown in Figure 44 consist solely of such
126 a square plaited unit whose corners are folded upward to serve as walls for the basket, without the addition of other plaited units to /43/ complete the four walls of the basket. But the two baskets from Simões Lopes shown in Figures 45 and 46 present a more advanced form of this type of basketry in so far as the four blank spaces which appear between the four triangular parts folded upward to serve as part of the walls are filled secondarily to complete the plaiting up to the upper rim of the basket. Since the free ends of the fibers in a plaiting done in this manner all come out at the upper rim of the basket, it is possible, in order to secure them in this place, to fashion a very even and solid rim from which emerge, on both front sides, the ends of the stalks of the two buriti leaves used in the plaiting.

An interesting contribution to the problem of the dependence of basketry ornamentation on technique, and of the derivation of ornamentation from technique, is furnished by a comparison of the two baskets from Simões Lopes shown in Figure 45 and 46. The ornamentation of these two baskets is basically different from that of baskets of which plaiting is formed by loose fibers, such as that of the baskets shown in Figures 39-42. These baskets are also plaited in such a way that a flat square forms the beginning of the basket with the middle part forming the bottom of the basket and the four corners, folded upward, forming parts of the four walls. But by the fact that this flat square of plaiting is composed, in turn, of four plaited units marked by different directions of the striping of its ornamentation, uniform striping is achieved for all four walls, since in this case the striping in the four corners of the main unit, when folded upward, runs in the same direction. With regard to the Bakairí baskets woven of two buriti leaves, such uniformity in the

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/43 cont./

striping of the walls has not been achieved because the square unit which forms the beginning of the object, in this case, contains only one diagonal stripe running in the same direction. The binding of the strands to the stalks of the leaves, which determines to a large degree the formation of the beginning of the basket, has placed a limitation, in this case, on the development of the formation of more complex units of the plaiting. The diagram in Figure 48 shows that of the four triangular corners of the flat square striped in only one direction, when folded upward, one pair (triangles GDH and BEF) present striping going in a horizontal direction and the other pair (triangles DBC and EGI in the diagram), striping going in a vertical direction. This condition also holds for the two baskets shown in Figures 45 and 46. In order to explain this more easily, I refer once more to the diagram in Figure 48. In this diagram the square GEBD comprises the plaited unit that forms the bottom. In the basket shown in Figure 46, the part of the front wall which is striped vertically corresponds to triangle DBC in the diagram, and the corresponding part of the back wall, not visible in the photograph, to triangle GEI. The corresponding parts of the two lateral walls of the basket present, in accordance with triangles EBF and DGH in the diagram, horizontal striping which also continues in the plaited complements done to fill out the remaining gaps in the four walls of the basket. /44/ so that the parts of the walls which must be regarded as accessory supplements to them present horizontal striping. The ornamentation of the basket shown in Figure 45 differs from that of the basket just described in the direction of the striping in specific parts of the walls, with those parts which are striped vertically in the basket shown in Figure 46 being striped horizontally, and vice versa. This variation of the ornamentation is brought about by the way in which the diagonal striping in the flat square which forms the beginning of the plaiting goes toward the other diagonal line in this square unit, so that the middle part of the front wall and that of the back wall present striping running in a horizontal

4:Schmidt--57 E-5 (1901, 1927-1931) B47 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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/44 cont./

direction, while the corresponding parts of the lateral walls and corresponding plaited supplements have vertical striping.

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Examples of the kind of plaiting called by me in my respective previous publications Doppelfadengeflechte (double-thread plaiting) are represented by the fish trap shown in Figure 54 and the flat basket shown in Figure 55. Fish traps like the one shown in Figure 54 (V.B. 9914. Length 54 cm. Diameter of the upper rim 25 cm.) were very common among the Bakairí of the upper Xingu tributaries, and the Berlin Ethnographic Museum possesses several specimens collected by Karl von den Steinen, who mentions them briefly in his above-mentioned book, Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens. (53) He says

> 53. Karl v.d. Steinen, Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens, loc. cit., p. 236.

there: "As for fish traps, there were two kinds: one called by the Bakairí puroschi was broader and had rectangular intermediary spaces, while the other, called tanauchi, was narrow and long and had high, large meshes oriented vertically." In Karl von den Steinen's book, there is no drawing or photograph of such a fish trap. The specimen which I got from the Simões Lopes Bakairí and which they call tiáiñi consists of slender twigs bound at regular intervals by a double strand which, starting at the bottom, goes through the twigs in spirallashion. A funnel-shaped entrance made of thicker twigs is placed at the upper edge.

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The flat basket shown in Figure 55 (Length 65 cm. Width 47 cm.) serves to store fish and consists of a wooden hoop filled in with double-thread plaiting in the form of a small mat like those the Bakairí used to strain their liquids.

Finally, I must mention the small basket shown in Figure 56 (V.B. 9891. Height 20 cm. Width of the upper rim 19 cm.)

131 361 193 131 361 166 619 /260 cont./ Rio Novo, also in that state. The Simões Lopes Indians claim that in the past all the Bakairí lived in aldeas by the Paranatinga River, moving later to the north under pressure of enemy groups. (2) Later on the tribe divided as a result of internal

2. For a better discussion of the possible origins of the Bakairí, see Max Schmidt's article, "Los Bakairí" /The Bacairi/, Revista do Museu Paulista, New Series, Vol. I, pp. 11-58, São Paulo, 1947.

[113]

disputes; part moved to the banks of the Rio Culiseu, one of the sources of the Xingu, and the other part was distributed along the Rio Novo. Perhaps the truth about these reports can only be obtained with the help of archaeology. Meanwhile, the old villages of the Bakairí on the sources of the 619 Xingu no longer exist. The Xinguano Indians suffered a great 195 deal from repeated outbreaks of influenza, and the last 931 Bakairí found in that area were brought to the Simões Lopes 248 Post a few years ago by officials of the Indian Protection Ser- 166 vice. The Rio Novo Bakairí, practically as a whole, adopted 619 the customs of the neighboring Brazilian populations and live 199 independent of the control of the Indian Protection Service. 182 As for the Simões Lopes Indians, although they are quite [178] acculturated, they still retain many traits of their old culture, they all still speak Bakairí, and some of them still remember the time when they lived in Xinguano aldeas, and make good informants.

114 As for the authors who have dealt with the Bakairí, we shall note among the best, Capistrano de Abreu and Karl von den Steinen. The former left us valuable information on the Bakairí language and on the beliefs of these Indians. The only weakness of his material is that it is based on only one